

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3127

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 3774

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: QUESTIONS ON PRINCIPLES DECLARATION PREAMBLE

REF: GENEVA 3639

1. SUMMARY: FINLAND INTRODUCED MAY 21 SELF-STYLED COMPROMISE TEXT INTENDED TO SERVE AS BASIS FOR SUB-COMMITTEE DRAFTING OF PREAMBLE TO PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. INITIAL REACTION INDICATES THAT ONLY SOVIET BLOC WELCOMES FINNISH TEXT. EC-NINE AND NATO CAUCUSES AGREE THAT FINNISH TEXT GIVES MORE TO SOVIETS THAN WEST AND THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN AS BASIS FOR DRAFTING. DRAFTING OF PREAMBLE FOR PRINCIPLES DECLARATION MAY BE FURTHER COMPLICATED BY IDEA THAT IS NOW BEGINNING TO GO ROUNDS, WITH ENCOURAGEMENT OF ROMANIA, THAT THERE SHOULD BE BASKET I MEXI-PREAMBLE AS WELL AS SPECIFIC PREAMBLE TO PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. DEPARTMENT VIEWS REQUESTED. END SUMMARY.

2. FINNISH DEL, WHICH HAD BEEN TAKING SOUNDINGS FOR SOME WEEKS IN EFFORT TO FIND PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE THAT MIGHT FORM BASIS FOR COMPROMISE BETWEEN EXISTING FRENCH, YUGOSLAV, AND SOVEIT PROPOSALS, INTRODUCED FOLLOWING TEXT MAY 21:
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BEGIN TEXT: DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS

AMONG THE STATES PARTICIPATING IN THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY
AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

THE PARTICIPATING STATES

(1) - REAFFIRMING THEIR DESIRE AND THE INTEREST OF THEIR
PEOPLES TO MAINTAIN AND FURTHER STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL
PEACE AND SECURITY,

(2) - NOTING THE MARKED AND INCREASING IMPROVEMENT OF THE
LAST YEARS IN THE RELATIONS AMONG PARTICIPATING STATES WHICH
HAS CONTRIBUTED TO A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT IN THEIR MUTUALLY
BENEFICIAL COOPERATION, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL,
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS,

(3) - CONVINCED OF THE NEED TO CONTINUE TO PROMOTE COOPER-
ATION AMONG THE PARTICIPATING STATES SO AS TO ENSURE
CONDITIONS IN WHICH THEIR PEOPLE CAN LIVE IN TRUE AND
LASTING PEACE FREE FROM ANY THREAT TO OR ATTEMPT AGAINST
THEIR SECURITY AND THUS TO CONSOLIDATE DETENTE ON A
FIRM BASIS FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

(4) - RECOGNIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF COMMON EFFORTS TO
ELIMINATE DISTRUST AND MISUNDERSTANDING SO AS TO BRING
NATIONS CLOSER TOGETHER ON THE BASIS OF THEIR COMMON
INTERESTS AND MUTUAL RESPECT,

(5) - CONVINCED THAT THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND
SECURITY IN EUROPE WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE MAINTENANCE
OF PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND MORE PARTICULARLY
IN THE REGIONS ADJACENT TO THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT,
INCLUDING THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA,

(6) - REFERENCE TO THE CHARTER/PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES
OF THE UNITED NATIONS. END TEXT.

3. ONLY IMMEDIATE REACTION WAS FROM SWISS WHO THANKED
FINNS FOR EFFORT BUT INDICATED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT
DRAFT LEFT OUT ANY REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND SUGGESTED
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DISPARITY BETWEEN PRINCIPLES DECLARATION AND BASKET III
TEXTS BY ITS DETENTE LANGUAGE. EC-NINE AND NATO CAUCUSES
MAY 21-22 SUGGESTED ALLIES REGARD FINNISH INITIATIVE
AS UNHELPFUL. THERE IS A GENERAL FEELING THAT FINNISH
DRAFT (WHICH FINNS CLAIM NOT TO HAVE SHOWN TO ANY DEL
BEFORE INTRODUCING) GOES MUCH FARTHER TOWARD SOVIET THAN
WESTERN VIEWS. THRUST OF DRAFT IS TO STRESS PRIMACY OF
PRINCIPLES DECLARATION OVER OTHER RESULTS OF CONFERENCE
AND TO EMPHASIZE PEACE, SECURITY, DETENTE CONCEPTS AT
EXPENSE OF OTHERS SUCH AS COOPERATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

ALLIES DISLIKE ABSENCE IN PARA 1 OF REFERENCE TO COOPERATION AND CONSIDER "MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL" IN PARA 2 AND "ON THE BASIS OF THEIR COMMON INTERESTS AND MUTUAL RESPECT" IN PARA 4 TO BE FORMS OF SOVIETS' "MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS" CONCEPT. THEY ALSO CONSIDER THAT PARA 3 FORMULATION IS UNFORTUNATE IN SUBORDINATION OF COOPERATION TO DETENTE. SOUNDINGS TAKEN BY VARIOUS DELS SUGGEST THAT FINNISH INITIATIVE HAS ALSO NOT FOUND MUCH FAVOR WITH NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED. SWISS HAVE ALREADY SPOKEN THEIR PIECE, AND YUGOSLAVS ARE REPORTED TO BE PARTICULARLY UNHAPPY AT FAILURE OF FINNS TO TAKE MORE ACCOUNT OF THEIR PROPOSAL. ALLIES HAVE GENERALLY AGREED THAT PREFERABLE TACTIC WOULD BE TO ALLOW NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED TO TAKE LEAD IN POINTING OUT DIFFICULTIES WITH FINNISH TEXT WITH ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE BEING TO HAVE FINNISH TEXT REGARDED AS BUT ONE OF FOUR ON TABLE WHEN DRAFTING BEGINS IN EARNEST.

4. JUST WHEN DRAFTING ON PREAMBLE WILL IN FACT BEGIN IN EARNEST, HOWEVER, REMAINS SOMEWHAT UNCLEAR. SUB-COMMITTEE CAN BE EXPECTED TO HAVE GENERAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON FINNISH INITIATIVE MAY 23 AND PERHAPS MAY 26 BUT PROBLEM OF HOW TO REFER TO UN IN TRANSITIONAL SENTENCE OR IN FINAL PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH REMAINS ON AGENDA. ROMANIA HAS GIVEN SIGNS THAT IT WILL NOT PERMIT FRUITFUL DRAFTING ON PREAMBLE TO GET UNDER WAY UNTIL AT LEAST SOME ROMANIAN SPECIAL INTERESTS ARE LOOKED AFTER. THESE INCLUDE SENTENCE IN FINAL CLAUSES ON EQUAL VALUE AND INTERPRETATION OF PRINCIPLES WHICH ROMANIANS, IN ISOLATION, ARE SEEKING TO AMEND, REFERENCE TO UN WHERE ROMANIANS SEEK TO AVOID TOO EXPLICIT A CITATION OF UN CHARTER, CONFIDENTIAL
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AND ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL. ROMANIANS HAVE HAD NO SUCCESS IN RECENT WEEKS IN GETTING SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION TO DRAFT PREAMBLE FOR ROMANIAN PROPOSAL, AND THEIR TACTIC IN CONSEQUENCE APPEARS TO BE TO TRY TO CREATE LINKAGE BETWEEN PROGRESS ON PREAMBLE TO PRINCIPLES DECLARATION AND PREAMBLE TO THEIR PROPOSAL.

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5. ROMANIANS ARE ALSO SUGGESTING IN CORRIDORS THAT IT WOULD BE LOGICAL TO HAVE MAXI-PREAMBLE FOR ALL OF BASKET I SINCE BASKETS II AND III HAVE SUCH UMBRELLA TEXTS. WERE EFFORT MADE TO DEVELOP SUCH A MAXI-PREAMBLE, OF COURSE, ROMANIANS WOULD HAVE FURTHER OPPORTUNITY TO TRY TO FORCE LINKAGE WITH AND TO UPGRADE THEIR PROPOSAL. ALLIES ARE JUST BEGINNING TO FOCUS ON IMPLICATIONS OF ANY PROPOSAL FOR BASKET I MAXI-PREAMBLE WITH EC-NINE CONSIDERING HAVING DISCUSSIONS AT HEADS OF DEL LEVEL NEXT WEEK. IN PRELIMINARY CONVERSATION IN NATO CAUCUS, HOWEVER, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT SEVERAL AT LEAST, INCLUDING ITALY, BELGIUM AND NETHERLAND, ARE SOMEWHAT ATTRACTED TO IDEA, SUGGESTING THAT THEY ARE INFLUENCED BY AT LEAST OPTICAL ASSYMETRY THAT MIGHT RESULT FROM ONLY BASKETS II AND II HAVING SUCH PREAMBLES AND BY POSSIBILITY THAT MAXI-PREAMBLE MIGHT DIMINISH STATURE OF PRINCIPLES DECLARATION AS CONFERENCE'S PREEMINENT PRODUCT. UK AND CANADA HAVE EXPRESSED MORE RESERVATION. WE HAVE THUS FAR CONFINED OURSELVES TO NOTING THAT BASKET I MAXI-PREAMBLE WOULD AMOUNT TO NEW PROJECT TO WHICH VERY LITTLE PREVIOUS ATTENTION HAS BEEN GIVEN AND THAT AS CONSEQUENCE TO INTRODUCE IT AT THIS LATE DATE WOULD PROBABLY BOTH SLOW AND COMPLICATE FINAL STATES OF SUBCOMMITTEE'S WORK TO CONSIDERABLE DEGREE. CANADIANS
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HAVE NOTED THAT SOVIETS MIGHT SEE TACTICAL ADVANTAGE IN GOING ALONG WITH IDEA OF DRAFTING PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE BEFORE FIRM DECISION IS MADE ON WHETHER THERE IS TO BE A MAXI-PREAMBLE SINCE THEY MIGHT THEN OBTAIN MORE GENERAL AND POLITICAL LANGUAGE ON SECURITY THAN THEY COULD GET IF ALL THAT WAS INVOLVED WAS PREAMBLE

TO PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. EVEN IF THAT GENERAL AND
POLITICAL LANGUAGE WERE EVENTUALLY PLACED IN MAXI-
PREAMBLE, RESULT COULD WELL BE THAT GENERAL POLITICAL
IMPORTANCE OF PRINCIPLES DECLARATION OR AT LEAST BASKET
I WAS EMPHASIZED AT EXPENSE OF BASKETS II AND III. NATO
DELS HAVE GENERALLY AGREED THAT AT LEAST UNTIL FURTHER
INSTRUCTIONS ARE OBTAINED, THEY SHOULD, IN EVENT ROMANIANS
OR OTHERS FORMALLY BROACH MAXI-PREAMBLE IDEA, SEEK TO
RESTRICT DRAFTING ON PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE TO THAT WHICH
WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR PRINCIPLE DECLARATION.

6. COMMENT: WE ARE SKEPTICAL BOTH ABOUT THE PRACTICAL
FEASIBILITY AND UTILITY OF A BASKET I MAXI-PREAMBLE
BUT WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS.DALE

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